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Demographic and socio-political
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FROM
D_s
K.D. McRae

DATE
August 17, 1967.

SUBJECT
Sujet
Additional information on South Africa

When I was at the Moncton Conference on Bilingualism, Dr. Malherbe drew to my attention a recent paper of his on the current position of English in South Africa. It seems particularly interesting both from a demographic and an educational standpoint, and we are distributing it as a supplement to the research studies on South Africa.

K.D.M.

O.K.

[Handwritten signature]

17/8/67

Am. pp. 30-40
p. 3-4

Demographic and
Socio-Political Forces
Determining the Position
of English in the
South African Republic

Dr. E. G. Malherbe

English as Mother Tongue

from E. G. Malherbe
Salt Rock, Natal,
S. Africa.

DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-POLITICAL FORCES

DETERMINING THE POSITION OF ENGLISH IN

THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC

by

E. G. Malherbe

October, 1966.

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DETERMINING THE POSITION OF ENGLISH IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC

1. Introduction:

The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to the importance of demographic and socio-political factors in determining the present and future role of the English language in South Africa, and to indicate what might be done through school organisation to preserve and develop this apparently waning but valuable part of South Africa's cultural heritage.

That I as an Afrikaner should deal with the future of English may seem strange if not actually anomalous. It is therefore necessary that I make my position clear in this connection.

Afrikaans is my mother tongue. I grew up, as it were, in the bosom of the Dutch Reformed Church, both from the side of my father and my mother. The "Eerste Afrikaanse Taalbeweging" and "Die Patriot" were sponsored by my grandfather in Wellington, where S.J. du Toit and C.P. Hoogenhout used to come to his home to read their first poetic efforts in Afrikaans to my teenage aunts. To me Afrikaans is as natural and as precious as the air I breathe. As a medium of expression it is "as full of adventure for the bold and daring as ever any language in history, and unique among contemporary tongues for youth and freshness". This assessment by Roy Campbell has been realised in the phenomenal growth of its literature, especially poetry. By its virility and flexibility it can be used to express aspects of human thought and life ranging from the most witty and earthy comedy to the profoundest of spiritual truths. There can therefore be no doubt in my own mind as to its viability in Southern Africa. Backed by Government authority on all sides, its survival and growth is assured.

And when, in what follows, I express concern about unmistakeable trends showing the deterioration of English in South Africa, it must not be construed as a lack of appreciation of the ultimate value of Afrikaans as a cultural medium, or a minimising of the efforts of those who fought for its recognition in public life.

My concern, however, arises from the fact that in our zeal to push Afrikaans, the younger generation of South Africans is being artificially and increasingly deprived of the God-given opportunities which a bilingual country like South Africa affords, and of which many of us of the older generation were able to avail ourselves. A bilingual country like South Africa affords participation in two cultures, and for Afrikaners of my generation bilingual medium education meant the opening of the door to the storehouse of knowledge so richly provided by the wealth of English literature thus made available to us.

It is a striking fact that practically all those, who most richly contributed to the greatness of Afrikaans through their writings in prose and poetry, received their education mainly through the medium of English. While this did not detract from their love for Afrikaans and its competent use, it did enable them to use English with greater facility (in both its spoken and written form) than the younger generation of today who grew up in separate medium schools where English is learned practically as a foreign language.

There is a good deal of truth in what was said by Professor Cecil Hourani, one of the leading educators in the Middle East, when I attended a conference in Tunis about seven years ago. He said, "To be a modern Arab, a man must pass through the medium of other cultures. In order to be himself, he must temporarily lose himself. The University of Damascus became a failure because it did not allow for the refertilisation of the Arab mind which comes only through contact from

outside, i.e. with the French culture which has been very prevalent in the Middle East. Such a refertilised mind becomes more and more creative in its own language and culture."

I am quite convinced that the wonderful achievement which South Africa has made in comparison with other countries in spite of its very small White population, can be ascribed to the fact that our way of life has been enriched by more than one culture. I feel sad sometimes, and I am speaking as an Afrikaner, when I see that my fellow Afrikaners are deliberately becoming isolated from the experiences which I, though growing up in a unilingual Afrikaans community, had the good fortune to go through by making contacts with the wider culture - English. From my earliest youth, in my own home and at school, I heard the Bible read to me both in English and Afrikaans, and was exposed to the singing of English hymns from the "Church Praise" and "Sankey", as well as from our "Psalms en Gesange". This by itself enriches one's vocabulary. I consider that to ignore the use of the Bible and of hymns in both languages, as is often done in our schools, is to neglect one of the most powerful educational media not only to build vocabulary in Afrikaans and English, but to enrich the cultural background of our young South Africans.

I have here been expressing a sense of impending loss which I as an Afrikaans-speaking South African feel about the deterioration of English in South Africa. But the English speaking section is also now beginning to be worried. An editorial in one of South Africa's leading English newspapers¹ approached the root of the matter. It remarked that, although English was rapidly becoming the world's language, there was one corner of the earth where its dominion was contracting not expanding. That corner was South Africa.

In attempting to explain this phenomenon, the editorial noted that it was the English-speaking South Africans who were cutting their own throats. What was even more extraordinary was that Afrikaans-speaking South Africans were attempting to restrain such suicidal tendencies by doing the job the English section should be doing but was not.

The article then quoted Mr. E.L. Harison, headmaster of Hilton College, who that very week had forcefully pointed out that unless English-speaking South Africans were prepared to become teachers, the prospects for the English language education of the next generation were decidedly gloomy. Mr. Harison was yet another in the long line of distinguished South Africans forced to point to the English community's reluctance to teach. At the same time, he praised those Afrikaners who taught not only in English, but the English language itself. Their action was a sad indictment of English-speaking South Africans, and particularly of those parents who deliberately dissuaded their children from taking up teaching.

*In the fierce competition for youthful talent in an intensely materialistic society like that in South Africa, the teaching profession inevitably fared badly. The fact that it did so, the editorial concluded, was not only tragic, but nationally calamitous.

Let us now look at the factual position revealed by the latest census figures.

*I wish to express my indebtedness to Dr. W.G. McConkey, former Director of Education in Natal, for the information in sections 3, 12 - 16.

2. Official languages spoken among various racial groups:

TABLE I

Official Languages spoken by Persons
7 Years and Older (1960 Census Figures).

		ENGLISH		AFRIKAANS		NEITHER
<u>Whites</u>		2,506,197		2,603,046		15,561
<u>Non-Whites:</u>						
Coloured	604,306)		1,456,596)		1,091)	
)))	
Asiatic	387,079)	2,542,694	66,154)	3,729,472	, 86,027)	8,176,811
)))	
Bantu	1,551,309)		2,206,722)		8,089,693)	
TOTAL		5,048,891		6,332,518		8,192,372

Note: In the above figures the following bilinguals (i.e. both English and Afrikaans-speaking) have been included:-

Whites	2,044,645
Coloured	552,945
Asiatic	62,213
Bantu	917,872

TOTAL 3,577,675

These were obtained in response to the following questions on the census forms for Whites, Coloured and Asiatic:

"If able to speak -

- (a) Both English and Afrikaans, state Both;
- (b) English only, state English;
- (c) Afrikaans only, state Afrikaans;
- (d) Neither English nor Afrikaans, state Neither."

The form used for Bantu: Languages Spoken:

"Mark each square applicable with a cross, i.e. an X:

Bantu Language
English
Afrikaans

From Table I it will be noticed that English is spoken by 5,048,891 persons of 7 years and over. Of these just about a little less than half (2,506,197) are Whites. Amongst the Coloured and Asiatic the persons who can speak English amount to about a million, while those amongst the Bantu number a little over one and a half million. These figures include those who speak, besides English, also Afrikaans or another language.

The number of Whites who can speak Afrikaans is a little greater than the number of Whites who can speak English. The main predominance of Afrikaans over English is, however, in respect of the Non-Whites, particularly the Bantu and the Coloured, amongst whom 3,729,472 can speak Afrikaans and 2,542,694 can speak English.

Historically English played the major part in the past educational development of South Africa's Non-White (particularly African) peoples. It was the language in which modern education was brought mainly by missionaries, to the African people in all four provinces in the days before their own languages had been adapted for school use to the extent that they are now. It has continued to play a major role because of its unsurpassed value as a supplementary educational language for people whose language has only limited currency and as yet only limited educational vocabulary*. It was until recently the medium of instruction above the elementary level in most African schools. It was the medium of the "open" universities where most of the Non-Whites received their higher education. It was the medium of the South African Native College at Fort Hare which drew students, Coloured, Indian and African, irrespective of tribe, from all over South Africa. It was the lingua franca of educated Africans, not only in Southern Africa but over large areas of Central, Eastern and West Africa as well.

3. English being supplanted by Afrikaans amongst Non-Whites:

The Bantu Education Act, 1953 divorced Bantu Education from that of the Whites. Consequently, the position of the English language amongst the non-Whites, particularly the Bantu, and latterly the Coloureds, has deteriorated in the schools. In an article in the Cape Times of the 29th January, 1965, the leading Coloured educationist, Dr. R.E. van der Ross, gave detailed, factual evidence of the systematic "Afrikanerisation" at the primary, secondary and university levels of the education of the formerly highly bilingual Coloured community of the Cape Peninsula.

The move to replace English by Afrikaans as the civilised language to be learnt by the Non-White population antedates the passing of that Act. One finds the seminal origins of this move in a paper published by the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings on "Threatening Cultural Dangers" as early as 1937.

* The importance of knowing English was stressed by a prominent African chief in the Transkei when he countered the plea for "mother tongue" medium. He said: "Yes, it is good to learn one's mother tongue. If I know that, I am like a chicken pecking inside a hencoop. But when I know the White man's language (English), I can soar like an eagle!"

I quote the following excerpts:-

"At the risk of being considered a nègrophilist, I would like to make some remarks about our attitude towards the Coloured races of South Africa. We have to do with some millions of Natives, who are gradually, whether we like it or not, receiving more and more education. And where does the educated Native range himself? It does not help to say with a gesture of distaste that we do not want him with us; that is by no means the plan. We also do not want him against us, for then the counter-current would become irresistably strong. We must see to it in the first place that the Native learns Afrikaans. I know our people (die boere) in the North who speak the language of the Native, consider it the grossest insult if any Kaffir were to address them in Afrikaans. I also know that there are many Afrikaners who speak the language of the Native of their region, but there are not many Afrikaners who speak more than one Kaffir dialect, and if we should have to speak to the Kaffir in other regions what language is to be used? I believe that it should be Afrikaans. That gives us another seven million people, which will make our language the strongest and the preponderating one in this part of the world. (Underlining mine). Can we let such a force be lost to us because of the false notion of our self-esteem and national pride and our inherited feelings about the attitude which we should adopt towards the Kaffir lead us directly into danger? If we do not wake up it will be too late."

"If every Kaffir in South Africa spoke Afrikaans, the economic power of Afrikaans would be so strong that we should no longer need an F.A.K. to watch over our cultural interests. The Native will in future be a much bigger factor in the development of our country than is the case at present and we must shape that factor so that it serves our purpose, assures our victory, perpetuates our language, our culture and our Volk".

This policy, the speaker went on to say, had been followed with great success in the education of the Cape Coloured people.

Some maxims for delegates to remember came at the end of the paper, among others:-

"Do not think that the Kaffir who speaks Afrikaans is insulting your language; he can be our cultural servant, as he is our farm servant."

"Remember that you are in the first place an Afrikaner, and that you owe your promotion to that."

In 1942 Professor B.F. Nel of Pretoria University published a book called "Naturelle -opvoeding en-onderwys in Christelik-Nasionale Stelsel." In this book he advocated that the principle of mother tongue education should be applied in African schools and that Afrikaans, not English, should become the second language in these schools. He held that Afrikaans was the language which, like the African's own language, originated and grew on the soil of Africa,

and was therefore more adapted to his mentality than English. Afrikaans is for the African the most natural key to Western Culture and Civilisation. Furthermore, "there are economic reasons associated with cultural expansion which are the due of the Afrikaner, not of the foreigner (the English)."

It is not only amongst the Non-Whites that Afrikaans has been pushed for political reasons, but also amongst the Whites, as against English.

During the war years the position of Afrikaans versus English received further attention from the Nationalist Party. Mr. J.G. Strydom, leader of the Transvaal Nationalists and later Prime Minister, expressed his aspirations as follows:- "Every Afrikaner who is worthy of the name cherishes the ideal that Africa will ultimately have only one language, and that language must be Afrikaans." (Die Transvaler, 21st February, 1942). In 1955 when Mr. Strydom succeeded Dr. Malan as Prime Minister, the Minister of Social Welfare, Mr. J.J. Serfontein, said amid repeated applause that he reiterated what the Prime Minister had said, namely that "there will never be racial peace between Afrikaner and Englishman before everyone is united under one flag and one language." (Die Transvaler, 21st February, 1955). However, a similar statement made afterwards by a lesser figure, was deprecated by the Nationalist newspaper, Die Burger, because such statements, it was held, "made the English uneasy".

4. Home language and the school medium question:

The Census figures on home language have more than ordinary significance for education. They seem to lend justification for the segregation of South African children at school into two hard and fast groups according to home language, English and Afrikaans.

TABLE II.

Home Language (1960 Census Figures)
for Whites only

		%
English	1,141,763	(37.1)
Afrikaans	1,791,540	(58.1)
Netherlands	21,635)	
German	32,225)	
Yiddish	4,755)	
Greek	7,832)	
Italian	12,230)	(3.2)
Portuguese	9,425)	
French	4,400)	
Other	5,923)	
Unspecified	128)	
<u>English and Afrikaans</u>	<u>48,283</u>	<u>(1.6)</u>
TOTAL	3,080,159	(100.0)

It is of importance to note that the above figures were obtained in

response to a question on the Census form which says: "Home language: State the language most commonly spoken by each person at home". 37.1% replied: English, and 58.1% Afrikaans. In 1.6% of the replies persons gave both English and Afrikaans. This they did in error, because, in this question the word "language" is put in the singular, so that only one language is required to be stated on the Census form. In many South African homes people commonly speak more than one language. Besides homes where English and Afrikaans are spoken, there are German homes where English as well as German is spoken; the same with homes where Netherlands and Afrikaans, Yiddish and English are spoken, and so on. Even though these combinations do occur, this was not asked for in this question. As was indicated above, it is under another heading on the Census form, viz. "Languages spoken", that specific provision is made for recording "both English and Afrikaans".

Clearly, only those people who misinterpreted the purport of this question on home language recorded more than one language. (Having been a Director of Census myself, I know only too well that no Census Form has ever been devised which is quite foolproof!)

This figure of 1.6% bilingual homes must, therefore, have very little significance here beyond being an indication of the margin of error in interpretation - something which must always be allowed for in figures returned on Census forms. It can be shown, too, that despite the steady rise in the percentage of bilinguals in South Africa, this margin of error was reduced by a clearer formulation of this question in the more recent censuses when the words "of each person" were introduced. The purpose of the question on Home Language, therefore, as mentioned above, differs from that on Languages Spoken. In the latter a space is specifically provided for recording both English and Afrikaans as distinct from those who speak English only or Afrikaans only.

Attention is specially drawn to these statistics because it has been found that the interpretation of Census figures on language has greater significance in the determining of official policy regarding the use of English and Afrikaans in South African schools than may at first sight appear to be the case.

As we shall see later, when in 1948 the 1946 Census figures were published, the protagonists of separate schools for English and Afrikaans-speaking children seized upon the Home Language figures as proof that their policy was justified. They concentrated on what they regarded as the most significant fact, viz. that in only a "little over 1%" of the homes both English and Afrikaans were spoken. For the rest the homes were divided into two totally distinct language groups - roughly 39% English and 57% Afrikaans. There was therefore, they argued, no justification for dual medium at any stage. Our children must be taught either exclusively through the Afrikaans medium or through the English medium. There was no need for anything in between.

These home language protagonists, however, totally ignored the fact that in that year 69% of the White population of South Africa spoke both English and Afrikaans and that, largely because of the widely prevalent use of both English and Afrikaans as media of instruction at the secondary level since Union, this figure had progressively risen from 43% in 1918 (when the first language Census was taken) to 52% in 1921; 61% in 1926; 66% in 1936; 69% in 1946 and 73% in 1951. Surely, if more than two-thirds of our Whites speak both English and Afrikaans they must do so to a considerable degree also in their

homes, as well as in their businesses and in general intercourse.

This is substantially true. Moreover, that the negligible 1.6% has no statistical validity on which to base educational policy has been demonstrated by subsequent investigations.

5. Home language background of South African children:

Language background in a highly bilingual country like South Africa is usually a matter of degree. This was shown very clearly by the results of a survey which I conducted in 1938 of the home language background of over 18,000 pupils in Std. IV to X inclusive in over 200 representative schools in the Cape, Transvaal and Natal. Each child's linguistic background in English and Afrikaans was personally tested on a twelve point scale which was an adaptation of Hoffman's scale to South African conditions. The results showed that in 25% of the homes only Afrikaans was spoken, in 32% only English and in 43% both English and Afrikaans in varying degrees. In 12% out of the 43% Afrikaans was preponderant and in 8% English was preponderant. This left a central group of 23% of the homes where English and Afrikaans were used more or less equally. This is 14 times larger than the percentage of bilingual homes which the Census figures were supposed to reveal.

These results were published in 1943 both in English, "The Bilingual School", and in Afrikaans, "Die Tweektalige Skool". They led to the founding of the Bilingual School Association designed to counter the Broederbond move (which by then had begun to gain momentum) of separating Afrikaans and English-speaking children at school on this hard and fast, all-or-none home language medium principle, as if there were no cases in between.

The socio-political consequences of this move were deprecated from many sides.

Afrikaans and English-speaking soldiers were at that time fighting shoulder to shoulder in the war "up North" and found comradeship and friendly association of paramount importance. They could not see why their children should be separated at home in separate schools. A representative sample of over 7,000 men in the armed forces voted 93% in favour of having Afrikaans and English children kept together in the same schools. Even General Hertzog, the first Nationalist Prime Minister, stated: "No greater damage could be done to South Africa than to place the children of the Afrikaans and English sections into two separate camps, and thereby not only maintaining but also aggravating the prejudices and the antipathies to one another of the children".

That such antipathies were strengthened was amply demonstrated by the high degree of social antagonisms generated in the unilingual (especially Afrikaans) separate schools. (See chapter VIII of "The Bilingual School", Longmans, 1945.)

6. Medium implications:

From this survey moreover, it became clear also that the second language was not a foreign language to the South African child and that, where-as over 30% of South African children had both English and Afrikaans more or less equally as their home languages, there was no logical reason why, if the home language medium principle was to be enforced, such children should not receive

their school instruction through both English and Afrikaans. At least children living in a bilingual community should not be "kraaled off" into separate schools, but should be kept together in one school, even though for instructional purposes they are taught in parallel classes should the numbers justify such a procedure. Alternatively, dual medium could be used. This method has been successfully applied in the following ways:

- a. By using both languages as media in the same lesson; (This presupposes that the teacher is completely bilingual).
- b. by teaching some subjects through the one language and some through the other;
- c. by using the two languages as media on alternate days;
- d. by using the first language almost exclusively for teaching purposes and the other generally in the social and recreational life of the school.

Method d. usually prevailed where parallel classes were provided in mixed schools.

7. EFFECTS OF SECOND LANGUAGE MEDIUM:

The survey referred to above showed conclusively that South African pupils gained considerably in their second language when that is also used as a medium.

The survey also set out to find out what effects, if any, this procedure had on -

- (a) the pupil's proficiency in his first language,
- (b) his mastery of the content of the subject matter,
- (c) his general intelligence.

The results showed no adverse effects on (a), provided the language instruction in the first language was sound. As regards (b), it was found that some children do suffer an initial handicap as regards content when the second language is used as a medium. But this handicap becomes less and less, and tends to disappear entirely as children progress to higher standards. Where the initial handicap did occur, it was proportionate to the relative strangeness of the medium used, and was practically non-existent where the children's experience in the second language approximated that of their first. Even with the duller children it was found that the child's educative process was facilitated by using both channels of communication available in the supporting environment naturally supplied by a bilingual country like South Africa, rather than by confining children deliberately only to one.

As regards (c), there was no evidence that bilingualism had adverse effects.

In all these assessments other variables such as economic and social status of the home, age and intelligence (as measured by non-verbal tests) were kept constant. This was possible because of the large number of cases.

Emotional instability when observed in bilingual children was shown to emanate frequently from factors in their socio-cultural background rather than from bilingualism as such. In bilingual environments, however, the monoglot was found more liable to feel frustrated and insecure in his environment than the bilingual child, and consequently less able to adapt himself. However, school children from recent immigrants with no knowledge of either English or Afrikaans, or both, showed remarkable facility in adapting themselves to the South African school situation and after four or five years could hold their own scholastically with South African-born pupils.

The educational history of South Africa as well as that of other bilingual countries has shown that the success with which a second official language is acquired depends very largely on whether that language is one which is eagerly sought after or whether the language is that of a people feared, hated or despised.

8. 1944 legislation to introduce supplementary second language medium:

In the light of the facts which this survey produced, and encouraged by the strong desire amongst the fighting forces to perpetuate the feelings of comradeship and unity which they had experienced, General Smuts persuaded Parliament on the 24th of May, 1944, to pass the following resolution:-

"That this House, taking account of the fact that the South Africa Act enshrines as its fundamental principle the conception of a united country and South African people, and to that end provided for a legislative union of South Africa and for equal rights of both official languages, considers it necessary that everything should be done to foster national unity and to provide equal opportunities for all citizens to learn both official languages."

"It, therefore, with a view to serving these objects, expresses the advisability that the Government in consultation with the provincial authorities, considers the amendment where necessary of the educational laws and regulations and the revision of the educational machinery of the provinces so as to give effect within a period of five years to the following principles:-

1. The child should be instructed through his home language in the early stages of its educational career.
2. The second language should be introduced gradually as a supplementary medium of instruction from the stage at which it is on educational grounds appropriate to do so.
3. That such changes should be introduced in the system of the training of teachers as are necessary to make the ideals of bilingualism and of national unity in the schools fully effective."

Each of the provincial administrations then proceeded to implement these directives in their own education ordinances. The Cape Province even

initiated a series of controlled experiments* in a selected number of schools to test the effects of using the second official language as a partial medium of instruction at various stages.

From the beginning, however, these measures were met by the most unremitting opposition from the Nationalist Party. The Broederbond was relentless in sabotaging the efforts to apply these principles in the schools.

Those teachers who wanted to make a success of them reported positive results. Those who were apathetic or antagonistic found all sorts of difficulties in the way.

9. Broederbond policy of separation.

All Broederbond-inspired agencies found the facts revealed in the above-mentioned bilingualism survey, regarding home language and medium, most inconvenient for their purpose of isolating the Afrikaans-speaking child from 'foreign' influences. By this means they intended to ensure their object of complete Nationalist-Afrikaner domination. Starting with the schools this would result in the gradual relegation of the English-speaking section to inferior positions in the public service and in all those institutions which exercise social control, e.g. schools, cultural media such as the radio, the theatre, social clubs and even sports organisations.

The Nationalist press (Die Transvaler, Die Vaderland and Die Burger) were outspoken in their condemnation of the implementation of the 1944 legislation and tried every means to discredit the finding of the above-mentioned survey. The irony of the situation was, however, that opposition came also from the unilingual English-medium schools against using Afrikaans as a supplementary medium in certain subjects at the secondary level. Immediately a directive went out from the Broederbond headquarters to all their cells: "You can take it easy now, boys. 'The English' are winning the battle for us."

In 1948 General Smuts lost the election and the Nationalist Party came into power. Shortly afterwards the figures of the 1946 Census on home language were published. In its issue of the 29th December, 1948, Die Burger in a leading article discussed these figures and greeted with jubilation the fact that the Afrikaans section had grown to 57.3% of the White population.

It concluded that, unless immigration was encouraged - which under the new government would not be (sic) - the future of "die Boerenasie" was assured by sheer weight of numbers. Consequentially the other aspects of Afrikaner dominance referred to above would follow. And, "as for Dr. Malherbe's findings regarding the bilingual home language background of school children; the inexorable results ** of the Census have beyond doubt proven his figures

* In 1949, not long after the Nationalist Party had come into power, these experiments were terminated. In a number of schools the results were inconclusive, largely owing to the fact that the experiment ran over too short a period. In general, however, they supported the findings of my survey as stated above.

A report on the uncompleted results was published in 1952 as a Bluebook by the Cape Department of Education. It was, however, pigeon-holed and never followed up officially under the then new Nationalist regime.

** The reference is to the 1.6% Census figure -

to be lies." Consequently his idea that children from bilingual homes should receive instruction through both media wherever possible had no justification in fact at any stage and "could be dismissed as mere United Party propaganda".

In that same year, under the auspices of the Broederbond's key organisation, "Die Instituut vir Christelike Nasionale Onderwys", pamphlets and newspaper articles were published propagating the policy not only of compulsory mother-tongue medium throughout the school, but also the segregation of Afrikaans children into separate schools. In other words, the official policy resulted in diminishing in every possible way the opportunities which Afrikaans children might have had of making contact with English as a living, spoken language outside the classroom. (The same disability would, of course, also apply the other way around. That, of course, was merely the Englishman's funeral).

It has been shown that children attending schools with parallel-medium classes spoke the second language on the playground three times as often as children in separate schools. But as a result of the pertinacious pursuit of this kraaling-off policy, even these parallel-medium schools were done away with one after the other, and separate schools were established.*

Home language medium is to-day compulsory up to Std.VIII (except in Natal where the parent has the right to choose the medium). It would therefore be legally permissible to introduce the second language as a supplementary medium after Std. VIII. But this is hardly ever done.

The home language medium principle is more strongly entrenched in the educational enactments of South Africa than in any other bilingual country. Much more freedom of choice is allowed in countries like Switzerland, Canada and Belgium and in Wales as well as in the Soviet Union, where a second language is consistently used as a supplementary medium and not merely taught as an additional school subject. In these countries children living in the same community are not artificially segregated by the State.

It has now come about that, by and large, the educational system of South Africa is developing into two closed cultural circuits each operating separately from kindergarten up through the teacher's colleges and universities and from the latter, through separately trained teachers, back again into unilingual schools where the second language is hardly ever heard or used outside the confines of the language lesson.

10. Afrikaans-speaking persons are becoming increasingly unilingual:

To show that it is the English language which is losing out in this artificial set-up, I can quote the latest (1960) Census figures on languages. (They will be officially available only in 1967).

* We have now become, in the words of Professor J.A. Lauwerys, "the one country in the world which uses its schools to divide its people".

It has been a well-known fact that the proportion of Afrikaans-speaking persons who could not speak any English has always been lower than that of English-speaking persons who could not speak Afrikaans, the Afrikaners being the more bilingual section. This was so up to 1951. In that year the figures were 11% and 15% respectively. In the 1960 Census, however, the position was reversed. The percentage of Afrikaans-speaking persons who could not speak English rose from 11% to 18%, whereas the percentage of English-speaking unilinguals remained at 15%. The same phenomenon appeared amongst the Coloured where the percentage who could speak English as well as Afrikaans dropped from 46% in 1951 to 37% in 1960.

As was mentioned above, in this connection, in the Coloured schools also, the use of English as a medium has been progressively supplanted by Afrikaans; at the University stage it is almost exclusively Afrikaans, consequently Coloured persons from Natal, where they speak only English, are completely excluded from going on to higher education.

This present deliberate policy of confining English in its educational use to ever-narrowing fields of operation, in fact only to the numerically diminishing English-speaking section, can have but one result. English will in course of time lose its position as a means of effective communication within the boundaries of South Africa, not only amongst the Whites, but also amongst the Non-Whites. The cultural loss to South Africa will then be irreparable.

Principle No. 3 enunciated in the 1944 Resolution by Parliament (Page 10) went to the root of the matter, viz. the language qualifications of the teacher and his/her training. So let us next examine the position in that respect.

11. Language qualifications of student teachers (Transvaal) 1938:

In the course of the language survey referred to above, I submitted all the student teachers in the Teachers' Colleges of the Transvaal to a battery of standardised language tests which I had previously applied to over 18,000 representative school children, and for which norms for the various standards had been worked out. The results of the final year students (i.e. those who had had three years of post Std. X education) were as follows: 6% of the student teachers from the three Afrikaans-medium Teachers' Colleges had not even reached Std. VI level in English language (i.e., the average level which English medium children attain in Std. VI), 26% were below Std. VII, 47% below Std. VIII, 65% below IX, and 77% below the average attainment of English-speaking children in Std. X. The English-medium Teachers' College was no better in respect of Afrikaans. The one outstanding fact was that about half of these student teachers, on the eve of their being launched into the schools as teachers, had barely a Std. VII proficiency in their second language. (Incidentally, it should be noted that even in their first language, Afrikaans, 21% of the Afrikaans Teachers' College students fell below the average attained by Afrikaans Std. X pupils and 5% of the English students were below

the Std. X average in their first language, English. The English students seemed better in their mother tongue than the Afrikaans students in theirs. This difference is probably due to selection.)*

It may be of interest to note that over 90% of the Teachers' College students were the product of unilingual, i.e. single medium, schools. The students who had come from bilingual-medium schools did considerably better on the whole in their second language and no worse in their first than the recruits from the single-medium schools.

12. Home languages of teachers in service:

TABLE III.

Home Language of Teachers in Service.

	AFRIKAANS		ENGLISH		AFR. & ENG.		OTHER		TOTAL	
		%		%		%		%		%
Cape	7,008	74.3	2,177	23.1	178	1.9	65	.7	9,428	100
Natal	929	29.3	2,056	64.9	66	2.1	118*	3.7	3,169	100
Orange Free State	3,130	94.0	151	4.5	34	1.0	14	.5	3,329	100
Transvaal	10,021	79.0	2,324	18.3	222	1.8	116	.9	12,683	100
TOTAL	21,088	73.7	6,708	23.4	500	1.8	313	1.1	28,609	100

* Of these 96, i.e. 3% have German as home language.

* There is every reason to believe that the position has deteriorated since this survey was made in 1938. A recent investigation showed that more than half the recruits recently admitted into the transvaal Teachers' Colleges (2,169) were from the weaker of the two "streams" recently introduced in the secondary schools, i.e. they were non-matriculants. Practically all of them are subvented by state grants. Also the results showed that 14% of them had I.Q.'s below 100. It would seem, therefore that a great deal of their linguistic backwardness can be ascribed to adverse selective factors in the recruiting of teachers in the Transvaal.

From Table III it will be noticed that three-fourths of the teachers teaching in our schools at the present time do not have English as their home language. In the Orange Free State, which used to be the most bilingual province, 95% of the teachers are recruited from Afrikaans-speaking homes, where English is becoming less and less heard in its spoken form.

TABLE IV.

Teachers in Service According to
Home Language in City, Town and Rural Schools.

	AFRIKAANS.	ENGLISH	OTHER
City	60.8	35.5	3.7
Town	86.1	11.8	2.1
Rural	91.4	6.3	3.3
TOTAL	74.1	23.0	2.9

Table IV shows how these teachers are distributed according to home language in City, Town and Rural Schools respectively. If one realises that nearly half of the schools of the country are in small towns and in rural areas where it is practically impossible to employ specialist teachers for language work in English, the children must learn whatever English they can pick up from the mouth of the class teacher, whether he or she is proficient in English or not. He, or she, is their sole model and source of inspiration for the English language and its literature. A survey of the books in the homes of these teachers revealed a position in this respect that can only be described as pathetic.

Though 75% of the teachers at present serving in our schools do not have English as their home language, it is possible that quite a considerable proportion of them received their school education, and possibly their teacher training, partially, if not entirely, through English medium. This would apply particularly to the older generation of teachers who went to school when there was still latitude in the choice of medium. For example, in the schools in the Cape Province in 1924, 37,335 children were receiving their instruction through English medium; 26,627 through Afrikaans medium, and 68,637 received their instruction through both English and Afrikaans medium. The majority of children, therefore, were then still receiving instruction wholly or partially through English medium. To-day the position is reversed. Moreover, only a very small percentage now receive instruction through both media in that province.

The degree to which separate medium instruction has developed in recent years in the Republic as a whole can be seen from the following figures: Between the years 1937 and 1963 the number of pupils receiving instruction through only the Afrikaans medium increased from 267,809 to 455,832. The number receiving instruction through the English medium only rose from 166,002 to 271,438. The number receiving instruction through both media, including

dual medium, decreased from 22,546 to 3,077.

Let us now look at the home language background of the new recruits to the teaching profession.

13. Home Language of teachers in training

TABLE V
Home Language of Full-time Student Teachers
in Training.

	Total No.	English	Afrikaans	Other
Cape	1,986	23	72	5
Natal	620	64	28	8
Transvaal	6,057	20	77	3
Orange Free State	546	5	95	-
TOTAL	9,209	22.6	73.4	3.9

Table V shows the home language of the full-time student teachers in training in 1963 in the provincial teacher training institutions. In view of the compulsory home language medium, it can be assumed that practically all these student teachers had their school training through the medium of their respective home languages. (The figures for teachers in training at universities have not been available). From the above it will be seen that 77.3% do not have English as their home language. This, as has been indicated, by itself would not have been so bad for English if this figure was not viewed in relation to the facts given above, namely that practically all of the 77.3% of our future teachers will have come up through homogeneously Afrikaans-medium schools where the only English they will have heard will have been in the English lesson taught more often than not by an Afrikaans teacher in the classroom. Most of them will have been deprived even of the spoken language experience which parallel-medium schools would have afforded. Their children could at least have heard the other language spoken on the playground. The point is that these new recruits to the teaching profession have, as the result of Government policy, been deliberately deprived of all the adjuvants for learning the second language in its spoken form available in a bilingual environment such as we have in South Africa. In this respect English as a second language suffers more than Afrikaans as a second language in our schools. This is reflected in the Census figures, as we saw above. It is the Afrikaans-speaking section that is now becoming increasingly unilingual through being deprived of the facility of speaking and using English. Of course, this argument applies a fortiori to the Non-White population, particularly the Coloured population which used to be fairly proficient in English, taking into consideration their social and economic handicaps in a South African society.

If this situation is to be remedied, the first and most important step to be taken will be to make all teacher training colleges bilingual-medium institutions where students with English and Afrikaans home backgrounds should be mixed and where there should be a regular interchange of media. Such a system has for many years worked satisfactorily in training veterinary and agricultural officers who have to deal with a public consisting of both language groups. There is no reason, therefore, why this should not apply also to teachers.

The chances, however, that this innovation will be possible in the teacher training institutions, are becoming more and more remote, as is further evidenced by the fact that 520 out of the 677 lecturers in the Teachers' Colleges did not have English as their home language and, in the case of the younger lecturers, were probably never taught in a school where English was heard in its spoken form outside the English lesson.

14. English teaching posts unsatisfactorily filled:

In 1961 the National Bureau of Educational and Social Research made a survey to try and find out how many teaching posts were unsatisfactorily filled in our high schools. The figures are as follows for the different high school subjects: English - 519 posts; Afrikaans - 425 posts; Mathematics - 326 posts, and Physical Science - 291 posts. These posts were filled by teachers without a university or other specialist qualification in the subject taught. We have heard a great deal in recent years of the poor teaching of science and mathematics in our high schools. Little attention has, however, been given to the poor teaching of language and particularly of English which showed the highest incidence of poor teaching in the high school.

In assessing the significance of the shortage of satisfactorily qualified teachers of the two languages, it is important to keep in mind that practically all of the unsatisfactorily qualified teachers of Afrikaans were teachers whose home language was Afrikaans and whose classroom speech was therefore the Afrikaans of educated Afrikaners, whereas a very substantial proportion of the unsatisfactorily qualified teachers of English were from Afrikaans homes and schools and lacked any such compensative home or school background.

15. Disproportion of English teachers to English pupils:

The number of English-speaking teachers in relation to the number of English-speaking pupils is disproportionately low.

If we take the public provincial schools by themselves and leave out private and Government schools, we find out that there are 451,513 Afrikaans-medium pupils and 210,870 English-medium pupils in these schools. The percentages are 68.2% and 31.8% respectively. On the assumption that the staffing of the schools should be roughly in these proportions, there would seem to be a shortage of over 2,000 English-speaking teachers and a surplus of the same magnitude of Afrikaans-speaking teachers.

A shortage of such proportion in the minority group weakens very considerably the contribution which that group can make to the shaping of the educational policies of that country. It has, of course, serious adverse effects

on the work in the English-medium schools. The more so, in view of the fact that the shortage is more particularly a shortage of men. The masculinity of the staffs of the English-medium high school in all provinces is substantially lower than that of staffs of the other schools. Low masculinity in South African schools causes instability. While men are usually in the profession as a life career, women, except in Natal, are not eligible for permanent posts after marriage. A recent survey showed that the average period of service of women high school teachers is only three years. The English-medium schools therefore suffer from a higher staff turnover and, because of this, from excessive breaks in continuity of teaching, from comparatively inexperienced teachers, young women in plus or minus three-year relays, and from more instability generally. Summing up for the four provinces, the survey reported that the general staff position in the English-medium schools was more unsatisfactory than in the Afrikaans-medium or than in the parallel and double-medium schools.

The shortage of English-speaking teachers does not work to the detriment of the English-medium schools alone. It impoverishes South African education generally. An obvious ill effect is on the teaching of English. There are probably more Afrikaans than English teachers teaching English in the schools to-day.

Many of them are eminently qualified for the work, but the number with an Afrikaans higher and English lower language qualifications is an indication of the limitations of many others. From time to time evidence becomes available of some teaching of English which is very unsatisfactory indeed.

English is not a foreign language in South Africa, and a major part of every child's learning of English should take place in the classroom of an English-speaking teacher, irrespective of the subject taught. It would, moreover, make for healthy South Africanism if every single-medium school had on its staff several well-qualified members of the other language group, and not necessarily as language specialists. At present such healthy cross-fertilisation is impossible and not only in single-medium schools. Parallel-medium schools outside Natal, particularly those in the country, very often have no teachers whose home language is English.

16. Economic and political factors affecting the recruitment of English teachers:

At first glance, the problem of the shortage of English-speaking teachers would not seem to be insoluble. In fact, there is less drop-out in English medium secondary classes than in Afrikaans medium. However, of the people who reach Std. X 32% are in English-medium classes and 58% in Afrikaans medium, but the fact remains that the English-medium matriculants are not attracted to teaching in the same proportions as the Afrikaans speaking. To a considerable extent the reasons would seem to be economic. The average income of the English-speaking group in the country as a whole is still substantially higher than that of the Afrikaans-speaking group, though the difference is being steadily reduced. Salary scales designed to attract an adequate proportion of suitable Afrikaans-speaking matriculants to the teaching profession are not likely to attract an equal proportion of suitable English-speaking matriculants. Vocational expectations are influenced to a major extent by the socio-economic background of the family.

Although differential salary scales for teachers of different cultural groups would obviously be out of the question, nevertheless a higher general level of teachers' salaries adequate to attract the number of English-speaking

students required would also contribute to the more effective transmission of Afrikaans culture by making possible the more careful selection of Afrikaans-speaking teachers. (As we saw above, 14% of all Transvaal Teachers' College students in 1963 had I.Q.'s below 100). But higher salaries would have to be accompanied by a policy of relating the number of teacher college admissions of English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking student teachers to the general needs of the two groups of schools, plus requirements of specialist language teachers, English and Afrikaans. A Nationalist government, consciously using education as a political instrument, is, however, unlikely to take such steps.

From time to time English-speaking South Africans are reproached for not producing enough teachers to man their own schools. The reproaches would have more substance if there were not reasons other than the purely economic for the reluctance of many English-speaking students to embark on a teaching career. The ambitious are put off by the feeling that Nationalist policies would make it impossible for them ever to reach the higher posts. Confidence is undermined among pupils of English-medium schools when efficient "temporary" (i.e. married women) teachers are dismissed so that their posts may be made available to fledgling teachers from the Afrikaans-medium Teachers' Colleges for whom posts in Afrikaans-medium schools have not been available. (There are statistical indications to show that the unplaced may well be unpromising teachers.) Such dismissals in a province like the Transvaal where English-speaking teachers are only 18.3% of the total establishment would seem difficult to justify. Unless teacher training quotas have been inefficiently assessed or deliberately inflated, it should be possible to carry any normal surplus in auxiliary posts without dismissing efficient teachers in the scarce category.

Policy towards immigrant teachers is also generally discouraging. The requirement of bilingualism as a basis for permanent appointment is hardly to be justified by the requirements of the work in single-medium schools. Then again, such teachers normally try to learn their second language. Sometimes they succeed, but not all adults learn new languages very well. The criterion for the permanent appointment of immigrant teachers should be their efficiency as teachers in the single-medium South African classroom. The time to demand bilingualism of them is when, if ever, they apply for appointment to posts such as principalships of parallel-medium schools which required bilingualism for the efficient performance of their work.

Whatever the reasons for the comparative lack of English-speaking teachers, the fact remains that because of it the provincial schools are often inadequately equipped for the transmission of the cultural heritage of South Africa's English-speaking children, for the more students in the Afrikaans-medium schools and training colleges become "saturated with the cultural stuff" of one section of the population the less competent they become to act as bearers and transmitters of the culture of the other section. Many culturally conscious English-speaking parents react to the situation in provincial schools locally available to them in the traditional South African way by withdrawing the children and sending them to private schools. But while the private school may solve individual problems for the comparatively well-to-do parents others cannot afford the high fees involved. It offers no solution on a national scale. It may indeed induce an unjustified complacency in the groups from which cultural leaders usually emerge.

There are fortunately many Afrikaners who realise that falling standards in English are injurious to our educational standards generally. For example, in Die Unie of August 1965, the official journal of "Die Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwysers Unie" (the Afrikaans teachers' organisation in the Cape), one reads the following admonition: "All pupils and teachers (especially teachers in schools) must realise that English is a world language and an official language. It must never be taught as a foreign language and every principal should so choose speakers that his pupils may sometimes hear English-speaking South Africans speaking English". (Underlining mine).

17. Adjuvants available by virtue of South Africa's being a bilingual country:

The point made in the above quotation, viz. that in South Africa English is not a foreign language (and, for that matter neither is Afrikaans) is one that is not always appreciated by those who prescribe the methods of and the time devoted to second language teaching in South African schools.

While there are small unilingual pockets in parts of the country where methods suited to foreign language teaching might have to be resorted to, these methods can become unrealistic and uneconomical in a country like South Africa where the second official language is so widely heard and used outside the schoolroom.

In this respect the South African situation is probably unique in the world. The high percentage (66%) of persons able to speak both languages is due not merely to the fact that both official languages are taught at school, but also and chiefly to the wide-spread geographic and social interspersion of the English and Afrikaans-speaking people in South Africa.

In Canada, for example, where both English and French are official languages and taught as such at school, only 12% (according to the latest Census) of its population are able to speak French and English. This is due to the fact that the French-speaking population is mainly concentrated in one province, Quebec. Then too, religious differences between Protestant and Roman Catholic do not run on linguistic lines in South Africa as they do in Canada, and, for that matter, also in Belgium where the percentage of persons able to speak both official languages is also much lower than in South Africa.

Both languages are still used extensively in the commercial world and in the public service, local, provincial as well as central. Both languages can be heard continuously over the radio. Newspapers and magazines are readily accessible in both languages. The prevailing advertisements on the streets and the programmes offered in the cinema give those who want to extend their vocabulary in English an advantage over those who want to pick up Afrikaans. In most urban centres there are English churches where young people could go if they wanted to hear English and to extend their vocabulary by reading the Bible in English and in singing English hymns.

These are God-given adjuvants which it is South Africa's good fortune as a bilingual country to possess on a wide scale. They should be exploited in a systematic way by all educationists who are interested in maintaining and advancing the English language in South Africa. Though these adjuvants operate in the home and outside the schoolroom, they should be taken into account

and exploited to the full in determining the whole process of English language learning also within the school. It is in the school itself that the main adjuvants to learning English can and should be created. (The same would apply to Afrikaans mutatis mutandis, but perhaps to a lesser extent than to English which has greater resources of material (textbooks and reference books) available at high school and university levels than has Afrikaans.)

18. Adjuvants available in the school situation:

Here, however, we are mainly concerned with English as a medium of communication in the school as well as in the bilingual South African society in which a child will find himself after he leaves school.

Here, too, it is important to remember that a language is not learned in a vacuum, as it were, by itself. It is learned by using it in connection with something - something that is relevant to life. Language is learned in the fullest sense if it is learned in connection with life as a whole and not just a segment of it. The trouble with most of our language teaching in the schools to-day, especially of the second language, is its insulation and its compartmentalisation, as if it were a subject apart, as unrelated as, for instance, the teaching of mathematics is to history, instead of an all-embracing means of communication. To confine, for example, the learning of the English language in a South African school only to that period on the time-table labelled "English" is not only psychologically and educationally stupid, but also most uneconomical in time - time which is one of the most precious commodities a teacher has at his disposal, because there are so many other things to be taught during school hours. All that many second language teachers seem able to suggest for improving it is to claim more time for the language period, as if we are not already in South African schools (and recently to a shocking extent in the Non-White schools) spending an inordinate amount of time on language (qua language) teaching to the detriment of other subjects, (including a foreign language like Latin, Greek or French) - in which South African school children on an average are backward when compared age for age with pupils in European countries.

Every lesson in every school subject is a potential language lesson and should be used as such in the case of both English and Afrikaans.

Education has been described as "preparation for life" and the main justification for including "subjects" in a school syllabus is that these "subjects" represent life not merely as a child lives it to-day, but such aspects of life as will be significant for him after he leaves school. In all these important aspects of life there is communication. In the South African situation communication takes place through both English and Afrikaans to an uncommonly wide extent. By the same token every lesson in every subject is also a language lesson, i.e. a lesson in communication. All school "subjects", whether arithmetic, bookkeeping, geography, history or science, constitute the educational equipment with which a child is expected to function when he leaves school and enters the life of his community, as a citizen and worker in a bilingual South African society where he will be expected to operate bilingually.

Can there, therefore, be any sound psychological or educational reasons why the mental habits (including language habits) which are expected to function efficiently in our daily South African life, should not also be cultivated in the school?.

There may be political reasons why this is explicitly forbidden by law, but it has never been proved that it is educationally wrong to introduce the second language gradually as a supplementary medium when teaching a South African child. Such introduction is best made when at the early stages it is confined to the second language in its spoken form. For example, it may be the telling of a Bible story which the child already knows, or a talk about nature study taken from the child's familiar physical environment. The reading and writing of the second language should, of course, come later on, as all experienced teachers realise. No harm could possibly be done by using the second language as well as the first language when dealing with subject matter in the syllabus other than language.

This is where the school can in the most effective way perform its legitimate compensating function in making good also the language deficiencies of the child's immediate environment and thus enable him to adapt himself better when he enters the wider life of the world outside the school.

As we suggested above, it is because many South African schools in the past did just that, that most educated Afrikaners of the older generation have a far better knowledge of English than is the case to-day amongst the younger generation. It is because they had their education largely, if not exclusively, through English medium. This happened mostly by circumstance, but often from choice. And it is not as if thereby they suffered in their general education or that the use of their first language became impaired. On the contrary, not only do they hold the highest positions to-day in public life but also the majority of writers who have contributed to the best that there is in Afrikaans literature were taught almost exclusively through the medium of their second language - English. Amongst the early writers I can mention men like Jan Cilliers, Langenhoven, Totius, D.F. Malherbe, Leipoldt, van den Heever, Haarhoff and Pagan. Amongst the younger Afrikaans writers of note there are men like Van Wyk Louw, W.E.G. Louw, I.D. du Plessis, Elizabeth Eybers, Dirk Opperman. These were almost wholly the products of English-medium education.

19. Importance of early start with English:

There are people who think that the learning of the second language should be postponed until the secondary school stage, which is usual for the introduction of modern languages. That may be advisable where the second language is a foreign language, for example like French, or German or Italian in South Africa, but it is absurd to do that in South Africa with a language like English spoken by 80% of the White population. In the first place, I firmly believe that the earlier a child starts, the more easily he picks up a second language.

Incidentally, it may be mentioned that the Canadian neurologist, Dr. Wilder Penfield, has recently claimed that there is neurological evidence to support this view.

In the second place, 35% of all our children who leave school have not studied further than Std. VI, and 55% have not gone beyond Std. VII; only about 10% ever pass matriculation, and less than half of these go to university. The large majority of our children therefore never reach the high school proper where some of the glories of English literature can be appreciated. We

stress these figures because I find that few people realise that for a very large proportion of our future citizens the primary school offers the only chance of attaining a knowledge of the second language (English), in so far as the school can give it. In some areas it is only the school that can give it.

20. Summing up: the school as a compensating factor:

To sum up: if the school is to act as a compensating factor against the deficiencies of the environment in regard to English, one of two courses may be followed. Either (a) more time than the one period per day must be devoted to the English language lesson (which will certainly make an unjustifiable inroad into the time available for studying the other essential subjects, including Afrikaans), or (b) the occasions must be multiplied throughout the school day when English is spoken and heard. This can be done, for example, by conducting "assembly" in English and Afrikaans on alternate days and by using English as a supplementary and partial medium in subjects where teachers are qualified to do so. There is ample evidence to show that this can be done without any detriment to the subjects so taught.

But here, as elsewhere, everything depends on the teacher, not only on his qualifications in English but also on the spirit in which this is done. If it is associated in the minds of either pupils or teacher with compulsion and emotional conflict, the effects may be adverse.

As regards the teachers' qualifications in English, anybody studying the facts stated above regarding the home and school background of the teachers, especially of the new recruits, cannot but be filled with concern over the future of English in our educational system. And, seeing that the bulk of the future teachers of English will continue to come from the Afrikaans-speaking section, the main efforts of an organisation like the English Academy should be directed to the improvement of the standard of English in the schools and colleges serving the Afrikaans-speaking students. This can be done by -

1. tackling the problem at its source, viz. by turning all teacher training colleges into mixed and dual-medium institutions, and
2. multiplying the occasions for using English in all schools attended by Afrikaans-speaking children on the lines suggested above.

In recommending the adoption of these "crash" measures by and on behalf of the Afrikaans section of the population, I do not suggest that there should be any less attention devoted to developing the English of the English-speaking section, and to adopting the best methods and techniques also amongst teachers drawn from that section, in order to improve and thus to preserve this very valuable part of South Africa's cultural heritage.

